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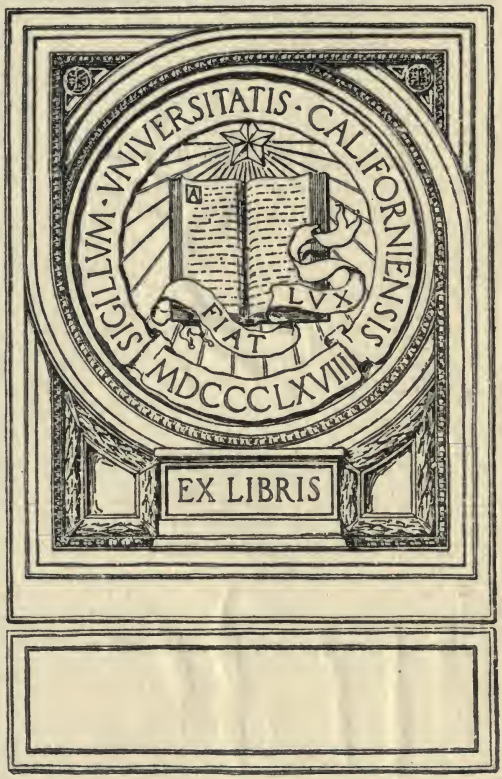
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MOVEMENT IN OHIO TO DEPORT THE NEGRO

By

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AND

REPRINTS OF TWO PAMPHLETS UPON COLONIZATION

CINCINNATI, OHIO
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PREFATORY NOTE.

The two pamphlets reprinted in this number of the Quarterly relate to different phases of the removal of the negro to Africa with his consent.

The first in order is from a copy in the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio entitled "A Brief Exposition, etc., etc." It sets forth in the form of an address to the people of Ohio the purposes of the Ohio State Colonization Society and of its parent, the American Colonization Society. In an appendix are contained a list of officers and managers of the Ohio State Society; a list of local societies auxiliary to the Ohio State Society; a set of "Instructions" for the organization and conduct of new auxiliary societies; and the Constitution of the Ohio State Society. At the date of this pamphlet, 1827, the abolition movement had made but little progress and it was still unthinkable that a negro should be raised to equality with his white neighbor before the law. Thus the argument in behalf of the colonization of the negro beyond the bounds of the United States is fairly summed up in a paragraph at the bottom of page four which reads,

"A manumitted slave remains a negro still, and must ever continue in a state of political bondage; and it is obvious that he who is deprived of the inherent rights of a citizen can never become a loyal subject."

"Ohio in Africa," the second pamphlet, is from a copy in the possession of Oberlin University, Oberlin, Ohio, which has been good enough to lend it for the purpose of the present reprinting. This is a "Memorial" addressed to the General Assembly of Ohio praying an appropriation of money for promoting and developing negro colonies on the west coast of Africa. It is of unusual interest for its account of what had actually been done in Africa to prepare the way for the settlement of negros. At the date of this Memorial, 1851, the Liberian experiment was

no longer a novelty. The narrative deals rather with other settlements or purchases of land for settlement in the neighboring region, funds for which had been provided by private persons, but not in adequate amount.

Both these pamphlets are rare and it is thought that this and the essential interest of the colonization project to which they relate make them worth reprinting here.

Cincinnati, Ohio, September, 1912.

THE MOVEMENT IN OHIO TO DEPORT THE NEGRO.

Origin and Scope.

The Negro problem in some form has been constantly before the American people. Perhaps no other question has so often or so profoundly agitated the public mind. It exacted attention in Colonial times and was reckoned one of the causes of the American Revolution; it was debated in the Federal Convention; it has been discussed on the floor of Congress. Political campaigns have been fought on this issue alone and politicians have risen and fallen according as they took their stand for or against the negro. The editor, the preacher and the novelist have been drawn into the controversy, for it has penetrated every element in our society and every state in the Union.

Since its appearance in the ordinance of 1787 the question of the negro has held a conspicuous place in Ohio annals. Here, as elswhere, opinion has been divided and no solution of the question has won an unanimous following. There have always been two parties each seeking to undo the work of the other. In the Constitutional Convention of 1802 the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties formally appeared and the debates on this topic aroused such warmth of feeling that the success of the convention was endangered. Each side won a partial victory—the anti-slavery party secured the prohibition of slavery and the pro-slavery party secured a white man's constitution. Prohibition of slavery was thus fixed for Ohio, but the question—What was to be done with the free negro?—was left open.

Under the Constitution of 1802 the free negro could neither vote nor hold office. He could take no part in public affairs, and yet was considered a fit subject for legislation. The General Assembly in 1804, and again in 1807, enacted laws designed to restrict the immigration of freedmen into Ohio and to safeguard the public against the possibility of the free black becoming a

charge. Subsequent legislation strengthened these laws despite the efforts of the opposition, who, with the blacks, sent petition after petition to the legislature requesting the repeal of all laws against the colored people.

Legislation, however, did not prevent a noticeable, even an alarming, increase in the negro population. For every negro in 1800 there were six in 1810; and in 1820 the negro population was 4,723, of whom a large percentage came from the border slave states of Virginia and Kentucky. Immigrants came not only of their own accord but in some instances whole colonies were freed to settle in Ohio. In 1819, 420 settled in Brown County,[1] and in a few years over 1,000 were brought to Ohio. The most notable of these colonies was that composed of the slaves of John Randolph who were settled in Mercer and the adjoining counties.[2]

About this time a movement which had long been agitated by noted individuals and by the General Assembly of Virginia took national form. This was the organization of the American Colonization Society in Washington, D. C., on December 28, 1816. This Society proposed to deport to Africa, or elsewhere, with their consent, the free blacks of the United States. It offered a negro policy designed to satisfy all. Here seemed to be a plan well adapted to Ohio, where the free blacks were beginning to be alarmingly numerous. The citizens of Ohio were already divided into two hostile camps over the negro, some favoring the existing legislation against him and others crying for immediate and total emancipation. Why could not these discordant elements unite in one movement to deport the negro to Africa? This suggestion had been considered by the Union Humane Society[3] at St. Clairsville in 1815, and it met with approval. The leading spirit in this Society was Benjamin Lundy, who afterward conducted manumitted slaves to Hayti and sought to establish a colony of them in Mexico; and it was probably due to his influence that the proposal met with success at its inception (Life of Benjamin Lundy, page 16). But the citizens of St. Clairsville were not the only ones favorable to the deportation of the negro.

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[1]Ohio Ho. of Rep. Jour. 1859, App. p. 60.

[2]A. J. Evans in New England Mag. V, 442 et seq.

[3]A manuscript containing the Constitution and the Proceedings for 1816, 1817 and 1818 of the Union Humane Society is in the MSS. Coll. of the Society.

The people of Harrison, Delaware, Warren and Hamilton Counties sent petitions to the legislature in December, 1817, praying "that measures may be taken to effect the emancipation and colonization of people of color."[4] Their petitions received attention from the General Assembly, for in January, 1818, a resolution was adopted advising Ohio Congressmen to use their best efforts to procure the passage of a law in accordance with the desire of the Memorialists.[5]

By this time people in other parts of the state seemed to have been aroused over this new scheme and were willing publicly to advocate it. For example, the grand jury of Ross County, after completing its regular work, resolved "That, we, the grand jury in Ross County, do hereby concur in the great and benevolent plan instituted by the American Colonization Society at Washington City for the purpose of colonizing the free people of color on the continent of Africa; and do recommend it to the patronage of the good people of this country."[6] This was in March, 1827, and eight months afterward the Ohio State Colonization Society held its first annual meeting, and thus was launched an organized movement to deport the negros from the State.

The Ohio State Colonization Society held its first annual meeting in the hall of the House of Representatives in December, 1827. It was not the first organization in Ohio for promoting the cause of deportation, as one existed as early as 1818. A number of other societies auxiliary to the parent society at Washington had been formed.[7] But none possessed officers and managers of so much note. The President of the Ohio Society was Jeremiah Morrow, who had been a conspicuous figure in Ohio since the Constitutional Convention of 1802.[8] Among the Vice-Presidents were the Speaker of the Senate, Abraham Shepherd; the President of Miami University, R. H. Bishop; and the President of the Ohio University, R. J. Wilson.[9] Like the other Colonization Societies it was auxiliary to the American Colonization Society and was designed to head the movement in the State and to serve as a medium of communication between the parent Society and the local

[4]Ohio Sen. Jour. 1817, pp. 103-137.
[5]Similar resolutions were adopted in 1824.
[6]African Repos. III, 23.
[7]Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st annual meeting, 6-9.
[8]Life of Jeremiah Morrow, by Josiah Morrow, passim.
[9]See "Exposition," p. 89 of this Quarterly.

societies. The second article of its Constitution clearly sets forth the purposes of the Society, "the object to which its attention shall be exclusively directed is the colonization on the coast of Africa (with their own consent) of the free people of color of the United States, and such as may from time to time obtain their freedom; and this Society will contribute its funds and efforts to the attainment of that object by aiding free colored persons of Ohio to emigrate to Africa and by contributing its funds not thus appropriated to the treasury of the American Colonization Society."[10]

The selection of Africa as the destination of the emigrants was common among the advocates of colonization although other places had at times been mentioned. In 1824 a Society had been organized in Cincinnati to investigate the feasibility of colonization in Hayti.[11] In 1862 E. P. Walker actually organized a party of negros to go to Hayti. At this time Hayti offered the negros free passage, care on their arrival and the richest unoccupied coffee and cotton lands. (Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 14, 1862). In 1835 Samuel J. Latta, an active member of the colonization movement advocated Canada or Oregon.[12] As late as 1848 a resolution was introduced in the Ohio Senate seeking the passage of a national law setting apart some of the territory acquired from Mexico for the blacks, allotting to each individual as many acres of land as might be reasonable.[13]

Africa, however, was the general choice. It was the home of the negro. The free black could carry civilization thither and could establish a barrier against slave trade. He would derive great benefit by settling in Africa as was well set forth by the President of the Ohio State Colonization Society December 19, 1827, when he said: "(The blacks are) an unfortunate race of men who . . . do not, but in a small degree, participate in the privileges and immunities of the country, and who, from causes in their nature inevitable and reasons insuperable, never can be admitted to the full enjoyment of those rights as fellow citizens. It is proposed to remove them . . . to a territory which they can claim as their own, where they may enjoy under a constitution

[10]Constitution in orig. pamp. "Exposition."
[11]Niles' Register, XXVII, 171.
[12]Western Christian Advocate, Sept. 18, 1835.
[13]Ohio Sen. Jour. 1848, 97, 98.

and government adapted to their situation all the rights and privileges which of right belong to a separate independent community."[14] No artificial barriers could be set up by whites in Africa to bar the development of people of color. There they might enjoy social equality, educational privileges and political liberty. The courts would be free to them and justice would reign supreme. In truth, Africa was to be the promised land of these children of bondage.

The whites also would profit by the exodus of the colored population. The state would be relieved of an unfortunate class of people, vicious and degraded, deprived of every incentive to physical, moral and intellectual improvement. It was pointed out that the negros contributed a larger per centage of the prisoners in the jails and penitentiaries than any other class. They were transitory people without fixed habits or a permanent abode. Moreover, the geographical situation of the state made her the refuge of a redundant and superannuated slave population. These unhappy creatures with all the ignorant and degraded habits of thinking and acting that pertain to slavery were thrown into Ohio in yearly increasing multitudes, to live here without either the qualifications or the privileges of citizens or of freedmen. If this state of affairs continued for a few years the black population would by immigration and natural increase soon equal that of the whites; and then, as one writer expressed it, when hundreds have fled to Ohio as the asylum of freedom, who will desire her pleasant plains and valleys as a residence? Furthermore, in the fearful event of a servile war it would not be in a slave-holding state or among slaves that those schemes of blood and ruin would be laid and ripened into maturity; but here where the negro enjoyed enough freedom to feel his chains would he be encouraged to break them off without the watchful restraints of a master.[15] Thus it behooved Ohio to preserve the purity of her morals and the safety and perpetuity of her political institutions.[16]

Since the movement in Ohio was part of the national organization its advocates pointed out the advantage that would accrue to the nation—namely, general emancipation. Here aboli-

[14]Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 3, 4.
[15]"Exposition," p. 85; and Ohio Sen. Jour. 1834, 446-450.
[16]Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 4, 9.

tionists might unite with colonizationists. President Benham of the Cincinnati Society declared that colonization would stimulate voluntary emancipation, for it would remove "the evil against which the laws restricting emancipation were intended to guard, induce those states distinguished for their chivalry and independence not only to modify or abrogate those laws, but to enact others for the safe and gradual abolition of slavery."[17] In this way colonization was connected with the gradual and peaceful emancipation of slavery.[18] Here was a solution of the slavery question that would bring harmony to the nation and to the state. And the colonizationist emphasized this fact. At Chillicothe, July 4, 1830, the Rev. Joseph Claybaugh said: "(We) do not ask you to emancipate slaves by violating any of the state laws, but let your voice be raised in indicating . . . a safe door to progressive emancipation with the consent of the master, and in perfect harmony with the laws of the State."[19] The Managers of the Ohio Society asserted that "Either in a consistent and vigorous execution of the privileges of a peaceful and benevolent policy, or by the power of the sword, will they, together with their brethren, who are in bondage, be destroyed or expelled from our territory in the midst of the horrors of a servile war."[20]

Colonization had yet another point to recommend it to the people of Ohio—the deliverance of Africa. This land of ignorance, idolatry and superstition would be transformed by the colonization of American negros. Like missionaries they would carry to Africa the torch of civilization and the light of Christianity, and Ethiopia would stretch forth her hand unto God. With this appeal the colonizationists went before the churches to enlist their support and contribution.[21]

When Africa was thus regenerated, where could the slave trader replenish his diabolical ships? Every colony planted on the African coast rendered a district immune to the traffic. As the colony grew in numbers and increased in area this influence must spread. Soon a great area on the West coast most frequented by the slaver would be dotted with settlements whose presence would be a barrier to the intercouse between slaver and

[17]Amer. Col. Soc. 14th An. Rep., 23, 25; and African Rep. VI, 373-5.
[18]Rice, N. L., and Blanchard, J., Debate on Slavery, p. 196.
[19]Afric. Repos. VII, 81-89.
[20]Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 9.
[21]Afric. Repos. VII, 81-89.

native. As time went on the natives uplifted by intercourse with their new neighbors would refuse on moral grounds to trade in human flesh. A vast outlay of human energy and material wealth would be diverted to the pursuit of a legitimate commerce in which Africa would contribute the products of her soil and the wealth of her mines. The flags of all nations would bring their products to Africa, but no flag would be more kindly received than that of the United States which would have made possible the colony's existence.

Thus we see that the movement in Ohio to deport the blacks involved the removal of the whole colored population of the United States as well. The magnitude of the undertaking was fully realized. The sad experience of English colonizing in America was not overlooked. To transport the negros to Africa and to care for the colony during its infancy would require vast resources beyond what private means could afford. Therefore appeal was made time and again to the State legislature for funds.

In 1827 Governor Morrow said to the legislature: "There is nothing more evident than the inability of the Society aided solely by private charity to carry their whole scheme into effect. If the object shall ever be fully accomplished it must be by the aid of the strong arm of the government.[22] Not only the states must help, but the nation as well must co-operate. Only with the aid of the state and the national government could this great project be consummated."[23] And with this purpose prominently set before them the men of the colonization movement in Ohio entered upon their undertaking.

Personnel and Achievements.

As soon as the organization of the Ohio State Colonization Society at Columbus was completed numerous auxiliaries sprang up throughout the State. The State Society sought to plant an auxiliary in every city, county and town of the State, reserving for itself the function of mediator between these societies and the American Colonization Society at Washington. In this it was unsuccessful. Societies auxiliary to the parent society, formed in the State before the State organization, continued to retain their close relation with the former. In ten years after

[22]Ibid, 313.

[23]Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 5.

the formation of the State society there were about one hundred colonization societies in Ohio.[24] So rapidly were they organized that a writer in the African Repository said, "New and valuable societies are springing up by enchantment."[25] They were most numerous in the southern part of the State, especially in the counties adjoining Cincinnati. Out of forty-five city societies thirty were in the southern part of the State, and of nineteen county societies fifteen were in the southern or central sections. This is doubtless explained by the fact that the negro population was most numerous in the southern counties. Here, too, were many Quakers, who previous to the advent of the abolitionists aided the deportation movement. The cause of colonization, however, was not exceptionally strong in the counties where negros had settled. Membership in the societies was open to both sexes, but occasionally separate male or female societies were found, as in Green County and in several other places. Cincinnati had a juvenile society and Dayton a female juvenile society. For a decade following the organization of these societies they were constantly active. The State society planned the publication of the "African Repertory and Colonial Register," a monthly publication dedicated to the cause of colonization. Every auxiliary society was expected to subscribe to this magazine and to aid in enlarging its circulation. Only one number was published. A pamphlet entitled "A Brief View of the Society for the Colonizing of Free People of Colour"[26] was published by the State Society and an effort was made to send a colored representative into Africa in order to furnish the free blacks in Ohio with first-hand information.

The most successful method employed for reaching the people was the use of paid agents. Immediately, upon its organization the State society sent the Rev. M. M. Henkle to proclaim the cause of colonization, enlist recruits and form auxiliary organizations. Members of the local societies also took an active part in this educational propaganda. Edward Jolly of Cincinnati on his own initiative formed four societies in Hamilton County.[27] Through the efforts of Samuel Robinson nine auxiliaries were

[24]See attached "Trial List of Ohio Colonization Societies," p. 78.
[25]Afric. Repos. VIII, 117.
[26]Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 6-9.
[27]Afric. Repos. VI, 379.

formed.[28] Often these agents were ministers and were permitted to occupy the pulpit of the village church and to preach on the subject of deportation. When John Orcutt was in Cincinnati in 1860 he spoke before eight congregations and closed his work with a grand rally given in "Christ Church."[29] Following the colonization sermon collections were usually taken up for the purpose of supporting the gospel in foreign fields. The advocates of deportation often indulged in grandiose dreams. The Rev. L. L. Hamline said in an address before the Zanesville and Putnam Society that if one and one-half million dollars could be raised annually, 70,000 negros could be deported every year and the whole colored population in one hundred years. This only allowed about $20.00 as the cost of deporting one emigrant; the American Colonization Society spent on an average of $150.00 for each emigrant. Sometimes these agents in Ohio represented the American Colonization Society, thereby effecting a more harmonious co-operation between the national representatives and those in the auxiliaries. The Ohioans wished to be considered an integral part in the larger plan and all funds not needed for home use were willingly turned over to the parent society. Again the regular appearance of Ohio representatives at the annual meetings of the American Colonization Society at Washington showed the strong inclination to link together these movements. Even auxiliary societies elected a committee to attend these meetings.[30] At other times delegates went on their own initiative. Ohio not only shared in the deliberations of the parent society, but usually contributed to its offices as well. Eleven vice-presidents, four life directors and twenty-four life members were Ohioans. This group included such men as Elisha Whittlesey, long President of the Camfield (Trumbull County) auxiliary society, who as Vice-President of the national organization often presided at its meetings. He was besides a member of the Executive Committee from 1859-61 and Chairman of the

[28]Ibid, VII, 93.

[29]Amer. Col. Soc. 44th An. Rep. 39-40.

[30]The Ohio State Society frequently chose U. S. Congressmen, who were identified with an Ohio organization, as delegates to the parent institution. One of the most prominent of these was Thomas Corwin, who served the Amer. Col. Soc. as Vice-Pres't and was also a member of the Board of Directors. For an interesting speech by him see Amer. Col. Soc., 16th Annual Rept.

Committee on Foreign Relations in 1859. In all of these positions he strove zealously to defend the interests of the Society.[31] Another noted Vice-President was Judge Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, who was a subscriber to the Gerrit Smith Fund.[32] For four life directors Ohio had Solomon Sturges, Henry Stoddard, Charles McMicken and Alexander Guy, who represented her in the national councils. The prominence of these men in Ohio history is well known to all local readers and goes to prove that the wealthy and influential classes of the state were heartily in favor of the whole plan.

The missionary side of colonization would naturally appeal to the religious element and accordingly we find that the churches formed an important factor. Judging by the amount of their contributions the Presbyterians were the most active in the cause of deportation. Their most zealous member was William McLain, a graduate of Miami University, who had served the parent society as agent in Virginia, as Clerk to the Executive Committee and as Treasurer and Financial Secretary. Other noted Presbyterian workers were Alexander Guy, President of the Lane Seminary Auxiliary Society and a heavy contributor to the cause, and Randolph S. Foster, one of the Vice-Presidents of the national organization. The Episcopalians also joined in the movement having an auxiliary society of their own at Kenyon College, where the regular annual contribution to negro colonization was $100.00. The Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ohio, Charles P. McIlvaine, was an acquaintance and associate of the men who founded the American Colonization Society. During long periods he presided over the Ohio Auxiliary Society and for twenty-eight years served the parent organization as Vice-President.[33] Resolutions were often passed by the churches warmly advocating colonization. The Lutheran Synod which met at Columbus in 1827 adopted resolutions approving the movement.[34] In the same way the Baptist General Conference in reply to a letter from M. M. Henkle, Ohio State agent, resolved "That this Convention highly approve of the object of said Society and that we recommend to our ministers and breth-

[31]Ibid, 46th Rept., 19, 20.
[32]Amer. Col. Soc. 14th Rept., p. 29.
[33]Ibid. 57th Rept., 6.
[34]Afric. Repos. III, 316.

ren generally to use their influence to advocate its interest."[35] Methodists also followed in the footsteps of their religious brethren. In 1827 the Ohio District Conference of the Methodist Church gave colonization their unqualified approval. And later, when the abolitionists and colonizationists were in controversy, at a conference in Springfield it reiterated these statements. The Methodist churches were open to colonization agents and among their prominent preachers the Rev. Hugh McMillan advocated the cause. Another Methodist minister, Thomas A. Morris, senior bishop of the church, was deeply interested in the work, and for ten years served as Vice-President of the national organization.

The national society realized that Ohio was fertile ground to work and so David Christy, its most energetic and aggressive agent, was sent hither to see what might be accomplished. Mr. Christy's agency in Ohio coincided with a period of greatly increased foreign immigration to the United States, and in this circumstance he saw his opportunity to appeal to the fears of the populace. He insisted that the free blacks could never compete with this class of laborers and cited the decrease of the colored population in the north-eastern section of the nation, where foreigners were most numerous, to support his assertion. Soon he said a like scene would be enacted in Ohio. An appeal was therefore made by both the Ohio and the national societies to purchase a large tract of land on the west coast of Africa to afford free colored labor a place of refuge. In April, 1848, the Cincinnati newspapers pointed out the efficacy of such a purchase in checking the slave trade. This traffic had already been stopped at two points on the coast, namely, at Sierra Leone, the English settlement, and at Liberia, the settlement of the American colonizationists. The colonizationists thought that the hope of rendering a third district immune to the traffic would kindle a desire in the negro to emigrate. These motives appealed to the philanthropic spirit of Charles McMicken, the founder of the University of Cincinnati, who contributed $5,000.00 to help in effecting such a purchase.[36] McMicken's interest in colonization

[35] Ibid. III, 315.

[36] See prefatory sketch in pub. Will of Chas. McMicken, 4. See Shotwell, Hist. of Schools of Cin'ti, 223, for variation in statement of amount contributed.

is further shown by the provision in his will that if he owned any slaves at his death they should be freed and, if they chose, removed to Liberia. The executors were to spend $100.00 on each emigrant.[37] The fund was enlarged by the donation of Solomon Sturges of Putnam County, who gave $1,000.00, and by that of Samuel Gurney of London, who gave $5,000.00. A tract of 8,000,000 acres was purchased under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, including all the region lying between Sierra Leone and Liberia. This had been known as Grand Cape Mount and Gallinas, and following the example of Maryland was christened "Ohio in Africa."[38] Here was a special home for the free blacks from Ohio. Instead, however, of this purchase arousing the blacks and inspiring them to emigrate to Africa nothing of the sort occurred. What it did was to increase the activities of the colonizationists in urging an appropriation by the State. Since the organization of the Ohio State Colonization Society petitions for financial aid had been presented to the General Assembly but had only evoked the introduction of resolutions and the proposal of bills. The objects of colonization had been approved by the Legislature by resolution in 1828 and again in 1832. But the Legislature would never go beyond the passing of resolutions. Bills were killed in committee rooms or acted on favorably by only one house. Numerous petitions came in following the purchase of Grand Cape Mount and Gallinas, praying for favorable legislation on the subject of establishing "Ohio in Africa." Petition of the American Colonization Society by the Ohio Committee of Correspondence[39] to this effect and others were received from the Ohio Methodist Conference, the Ohio Baptist Annual Convention, the New School Presbyterian Synod of Cincinnati, the Old School Presbyterian Synod of Ohio and the Baptist Association of Cincinnati. One was signed by 420 citizens of Ohio, another was headed by Thomas J. Biggs and 154 citizens of Cincinnati, while similar petitions were received from citizens of Greene County, Logan County, Butler County and Hamilton County; all praying for appropriations.[40] The petition from Hamilton County asked for $5,000.00 annually

[37]Will of McMicken, Art. XXVIII.

[38]Samuel F. Hunt, Address upon Charles McMicken (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Society of Ohio, p 11).

[39]See "Ohio in Africa," p. 93 of this Quarterly.

[40]Ohio Sen. Jour. 1850, p. 1007.

for ten consecutive years to aid the transportation of free blacks to Liberia with their consent. The mass of petitioners were spoken of as "of the highest character for moral and intellectual worth" by the committees reporting on the petitions, but little was done to satisfy their demands. However, a bill was introduced in the House to promote the cause of deportation. The bill passed the House, but failed of passage in the Senate.[41] An amendment requiring equal emigration from every Congressional district was rejected. The Senate would do nothing to further colonization except to go on record asking Congress to withdraw its squadron from the coast of Africa and to appropriate $150,000.00 annually for African colonization as a more efficient means to suppress the slave trade.[42] And the whole matter terminated by the Legislature limiting its action to a resolution favoring the independence of Liberia.[43] Failing to secure what they wanted from the General Assembly the Ohio Colonizationists next tried the Constitutional Convention then in session at Columbus. The effort here centered on an attempt to incorporate a clause in the new Constitution giving the General Assembly power to appropriate money for African colonization. The absence of such a provision in the old Constitution had proved a great obstacle to the friends of deportation and now they hoped to avert a recurrence of this trouble. But here again the friends of the blacks met with strong opposition. In the debate over this proposal several delegates expressed themselves as willing to pay a tax levied for this purpose, declaring that the colonization movement was on a plane with the Bible and Tract Societies.[44] The key-note of the whole debate was sounded, however, by Mr. Ledbetter of Holmes County, who said, "If we commence sending them off we make room for more to come in; yea, invite them. I am ready to vote to shut the door and then I would be willing to pay my share of taxes to aid in their removal from the states."[45] To the objection that this action on the part of the Convention might lead to a great influx of negros into the State advocates of the measure so worded their demand for appropriation as to read, "whenever in the opinion of the General

[41]Ibid., 1850, 918-9.
[42]Ibid., 230.
[43]Amer. Col. Soc. 34th Rept., 10-11.
[44] [45] Ohio Constitutional Debates I, p. 598-9.

Assembly it can be done without causing an emigration of such persons from an adjoining state."[46] But even in this form it was defeated. The only explanation that may be offered for this conduct on the part of the Convention is that most likely it was influenced by the many petitions received against the immigration of colored people into the State.[47]

Although the Constitutional Convention refused to incorporate a clause in the new Constitution giving the Legislature power to appropriate money for African Colonization, about two-thirds of the delegates signed on January 13, 1851, a memorial asking Congress to establish a line of steamships between the United States and Liberia. Such a line, the Memorialists said, "would greatly promote the interests of Liberia, rapidly advance the commerce of this country and Africa and hasten the destruction of the slave trade, and by affording facilities to emigrants in the greater cheapness and rapidity with which it could be conducted, give an impulse to colonization that would tell most favorably upon the interests of both continents."[48] This well illustrates how the Ohioans viewed every endeavor to advance the cause of deportation. Later, when the Stanley bill providing for the appropriation of the fourth installment of the surplus revenue to the several states for colonization purposes was before Congress, the Ohio committee on colonization directed Mr. Christy to use his influence to secure its passage. It would have given Ohio $33,454.00 annually to build up "Ohio in Africa."[49] How best to promote the passage of this bill was considered by the Ohio Legislature where petitions were received as late as 1861 praying for African colonization. But the measure was defeated in Congress before Ohio took action.

The failure of the Ohio colonizationists to obtain state or national appropriations did not deter them from supporting the movement by their own contributions. These varied from those given by the directors of Insurance Companies to gifts from Young Ladies' Academies.[50]

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[46]Ohio Constitutional Debates I, p. 598–9.

[47]Hickok, in "The Negro in Ohio," p. 54, states that Daniel Drake, the eminent physician, was one of these petitioners and that he also asked for laws favoring African colonization.

[48]Amer. Col. Soc. 34th Rept., 74.

[49]David Christy, Address to Clergymen of Ohio. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Society of Ohio.)

[50]Afric. Repos. VII, 196, and IX, 160.

The usual method pursued in obtaining funds was by solicitation by the agents of the colonization societies. These men would generally take up a collection following their lectures on the gospel of colonization. Frequently the churches would of their own accord take up contributions and an extra effort was put forth by all religious denominations to swell this sum on the Sunday preceding the 4th of July. Among private individuals the heaviest contributors in the State were Judge Burnet and Charles McMicken.

The total amount annually collected by these means steadily increased until 1830 when over $3,000.00 was reported. The decline in the amount contributed noticeable in the late thirties and early forties was due to the inroads of the abolitionists and to the panic of 1837. But the decade preceding the Civil War shows an annual contribution of over $2,500.00. And throughout the history of the whole movement funds were found to be more abundant than emigrants. No emigrants were sent until 1833 when 41 were transported. Since then only sixteen have gone, the last in 1902. This emigrant was Miss Ida M. Sharp of Cincinnati, who became a teacher in the Liberia schools.[51] This will seem strange when we remember how well organized the movement was, how heavy the contributions were and how deep an interest in the subject prevailed in almost every section of the state. Yet this was the case, and when we recollect that the essential purpose of the whole propaganda was to remove the free blacks from the state it is obvious that considering the resources placed at its disposal little was accomplished.

Opposition and Decline.

That the project for deporting the free blacks from Ohio accomplished little is clear. But why the colonizationists could not carry this scheme to a successful end remains to be told.

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[51] Amer. Col. Soc. 86th Rept., 4, 5.
Amer. Col. Soc. 54th Rept., 19: An emigrant who went on his own initiative and at his own expense was Edward James Roye, a native of Ohio, who had acquired an education in the High School of Newark, Ohio; a three years' course at the University of Athens, and a course in French at Oberlin College before embarking in 1846 for Liberia. Besides carrying on a very successful mercantile business there, he became Speaker of the Ho. of Reps. in 1849, Chief Justice from 1865 to 1868, and was inaugurated President of the Republic of Liberia in 1870.

The causes of the ultimate and complete failure of the whole project were various and space will not permit of treating of them in detail. For convenience we may group them under three heads: (1) the attitude of the blacks toward colonization; (2) the strife between the abolitionists and the colonizationists with its results; and (3) the effect of the Civil War on the whole movement.

We should expect the blacks to be above all others most deeply interested in such a plan and the position that they took is therefore instructive. Their numbers had grown so rapidly between 1820 and 1850 that they had come to be worthy of consideration. In 1820 the colored population of Ohio was 4,723; in 1830 it was 9,568; in 1840, 17,342; and in 1850, 25,279.[52] In view of this rapid increase of the colored people in Ohio their attitude becomes especially important, since it was taken not by a few isolated and scattered groups but by masses large enough to command respect and capable of expressing their opinions in assemblies and conventions.

Turning to the meetings of the negros we find that from the very beginning they were opposed to colonization. Even in 1817, soon after the birth of the parent Society at Washington, evidences are to be found throughout the country of the disapproval of the negros of such a scheme. Wherever they were allowed to assemble they entered their protest against colonization which they considered a scheme of proscription and cruelty.[53] This was noted in the various reports of the colonization societies to the parent society, and in 1827 it received much attention at the meeting of the Ohio State Colonization Society. Here again the same complaint is made against the blacks of their unwillingness to emigrate to Africa. But some attempt is made to explain the reason for this reluctance. The argument offered is that owing to the ignorance of the negros the many efforts that were made to produce unfavorable impressions concerning the designs of the society aroused their prejudice, so that they objected to transportation to a place of which they knew little and for which they cared less.[54] The colonizationists therefore urged that much of this hostile feeling could be removed if a responsible negro should

[52]U. S. Census Reports.

[53]Letter of Cornish to Cox. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio.)

[54]Ohio State Col. Soc., Dec. 19, 1827.

be sent to Liberia to acquaint himself with the actual state of affairs there, and to report favorably on his return. With this in view the Ohio organization kept back one-half of its funds to apply to such a purpose.[55] We have no definite information of what steps were actually taken, but we know that one colored man, the Rev. Moses Walker, of Portland in Jefferson County, visited Africa in 1848 and reported favorably to his friends at home of the colony settled there. And he was himself so delighted with the conditions that he revisited it taking with him his family.

Nevertheless all efforts to allay the hostility of the negros to colonization proved fruitless. At almost every convention of colored people, whether state or county, resolutions were passed opposing the scheme of colonization. These resolutions are couched in terms clearly expressive of the exact position taken by the negro upon this subject. The first record of public announcement of these views is the report of an assemblage of negros in Cincinnati in 1832 to consider the anti-Christian spirit of colonization. At this meeting resolutions were carried to the effect that every free man of color who should emigrate to Africa or should advocate emigration was to be regarded as an enemy to humanity and a traitor to his brother.[56] The following year at a similar gathering in Trumbull County it was declared that in the opinion of the meeting colonization increased prejudice against their race.[57] Three years later we hear of a meeting of negros in Cincinnati attended by sixty colored freedmen which did favor emigration; but this was only provisional and the views of those present should not be taken as representative of the masses, because of the small attendance at this convention. At a meeting held at Cleveland in 1846 for the purpose of considering the emigration of blacks to Oregon or California the following resolution was passed: RESOLVED: "That in the present aspect of affairs the conditions of the colored race would not be improved by emigration; that colonization *is* and ought to be *condemned* by the colored race; that the colored colonizationists are as bad as the white colonizationists, and that both ought to be condemned; and that the duty of the colored people is to stay

[55]Ibid., p. 7, 8.
[56]Liberator, Feb. 4, 1832.
[57]Ibid., Nov. 23, 1833.

where they are and contend earnestly for their rights, trusting in the power of truth and the God of justice for final victory."[58] This resolution expressed the true feeling of the negro of the time and the views that he continued to hold for many years to come.

Although the negro did not wish to emigrate to Africa or to any other place solely because the colonizationists wished him to do so, he was still desirous to know about these new places. This has been pointed out in mentioning the efforts made by the Ohio State Colonization Society to dispel the class prejudice against their scheme. The members of this Society saw that if the negros could be educated more could be done with them; and there is reason to believe that the blacks were more than willing to be taught. At a convention of colored freedmen in Ohio held in Cincinnati January 14-17, 1852, the committee on emigration reported in favor of appointing an agent to visit the various parts of the continent, "with a view of determining the most suitable point for the settlement of the colored people and the establishment of an independent nationality."[59] The report was indefinitely postponed, but it goes to show that the expediency of gathering further knowledge was appreciated by many. Two years later the colored people of Butler County drew up similar resolutions in favor of obtaining all the information to be had about Liberia and Africa, "as true enquirers after truth and as men not afraid to investigate every question at issue."[60] About the same time the negros of Circleville appointed T. J. Merrett, one of their number, a delegate to Liberia to report on the conditions and prospects of an Ohio colony. Mr. Merrett sailed in April, 1853, but death prevented his return.[61] When we take account of these numerous attempts the eagerness of the negros to learn about these new lands seem remarkable, considering their condition and the attitude their class generally took toward all new projects.

Why then did the negros so vigorously oppose colonization? They wished to investigate and to learn about Liberia and Africa,

[58]Ibid., May 22, 1846.

[59]Ohio Convention, Jan. 14-17, 1852, Proceedings of.

[60]Lecture of David Christy, 1854. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio.)

[61]Lecture of David Christy, 1853, pp. 57-63. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio.)

but did not wish to go there when favorable information about these places was received. True, what news they got came to them through colonization channels and might therefore have been colored to suit the promoters of the movement. But the negro as a rule was not critical enough to discern such niceties. His hostility to emigration seems to have been based on prejudice and on his desire to stay where he was, provided he could gain certain rights. From the passage in 1804 of the first statute against him requiring him to have a certificate from some court of the United States certifying that he was a freedman the negro had many hardships to encounter. Ohio boasted that the state was free from the curse of slavery, that free hands had built up their state and that they at least were uncontaminated and not guilty of slavery.[62] But if they did not have slavery in their territory they still did much toward debasing the condition of their black neighbor. The law placed him in a condition of civil disability; he was regarded as a "dangerous and useless part of the community";[63] and he lived in a state of disfranchisement. This opinion was held by the whites about the blacks unchanged for many years, for as late as 1857 "colored persons were excluded from all the public institutions of the state for the benefit of the insane, blind, deaf and dumb; all except the penitentiary; nor were they allowed as witnesses in trials or on the jury.[64]

Hopeless as his condition was under the law without privileges or local status, one might expect that he would be more than eager to go where he might have some measure of liberty. But as has been shown, the negros of Ohio were determined not to go to Liberia and if they were forced to emigrate they preferred some place like Canada where their independence would be secure, yet where they would not be so far removed from their old friends. Nothing did more to harm the colonization movement in this state than this desire among the negros of Ohio to emigrate to Canada, when they saw that they must go to some place outside of the state. Out of this finally arose the establishment of the Wilberforce settlement in Canada. So characteristic of those days were the methods employed to get

[62]Speech of Wm. M. Corry at 47th anniversary of the State of Ohio. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio, p. 11.)

[63]Martineau's Martyr Age, passim.

[64]Proceedings of State Convention Free Colored Men of Ohio, 21, Jan., 1857.

rid of these negros and to force them to go to Canada, and so well are the reluctance of the negros to leave their homes and their reasons for their action brought out in this movement, that it is worth while to advert to the origin of this settlement and the causes that led to its establishment.

In 1829 the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio declared constitutional the law regulating the settlement of colored people in the state. In consequence of this decision the authorities of the City of Cincinnati notified their colored people that they would have to leave in thirty days, or live up to the letter of the law which required that they should severally give bonds to the amount of $500.00. The blacks assembled and asked for three months delay wherein to make the necessary arrangements. Meantime they petitioned Congress in vain to modify these harsh provisions.[65] And at the same time sent a Committee to Canada to ask the government if they would be received there. The reply of Sir James Colebrook, Governor of Upper Canada, to the Committee is worth quoting. He said: "Tell the Republicans on your side of the line that we do not know men by their color. If you come to us you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of His Majesty's subjects." With such encouragement as this the Wilberforce settlement was established. The free blacks remaining in Ohio and in all the principal towns north of the Carolinas passed resolutions against African colonization, asserting,

"That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them than in fancied advantage for a season."[66]

Every negro considered that to abandon his brethren in slavery was to exhibit moral cowardice. He believed the colonizationist wished to deport him so that his presence might not inspire his brothers across the river to seek freedom. He was willing to enjoy modified freedom in Ohio if the slave's bosom was filled with a yearning for emancipation, but not to accept the complete freedom in Africa and leave his brother without hope. Another inducement for remaining in Ohio was that he might still agitate

[65]Afric. Repos. VI, 46.

[66]Harriet Martineau's Martyr Age.

for the repeal of the unfriendly legislation of the State[67] known as the "Black Laws". He endured the laws so long as they existed and by petitions to the General Assembly and the Constitutional Convention of 1850 prayed for their repeal.[68] The negro had rather fight for the removal of political and educational disabilities than emigrate to Liberia. The existence of these discriminating laws was an attempt to drive him to exile. The negros of Ohio resisted African colonization for a third reason—its cruelty. The charge arose perhaps out of the misfortunes that attended the early expeditions sent over by the parent society. In these a number died in passage and a larger number perished in the infant colony, conditions that have attended all attempts at foreign colonization. Although the colonizationalist insisted that Africa was the home of the negro the latter regarded America as his home. And it may be said that he had been here about as long as the white man. The negros of the State passed resolutions asserting that Ohio was their native land and that here they would live and fight for their rights. Finally they objected to deportation as a system which deepened the subsisting prejudice against them.[69]

Herein lay the essence of the matter. The negro wished to stay where he was and so opposed any propaganda that contemplated removing him. With such strong feelings upon the subject little could be done with him. And since he was the chief factor in this philanthropic project his hostility was bound to react to the detriment of the society. And this explains in some measure why the colonization movement which started out in Ohio so auspiciously was doomed in the end to failure.

The attitude of the negro was only one cause of the decline of the agitation for colonization. There was another which contributed almost as much to the ultimate failure of this project. This was the interest aroused by the abolitionists in favor of their proposal for the immediate emancipation of the negro.[70]

The charge that the abolitionist brought against the colonizationist was three-fold. First, they declared that the coloniza-

[67]Proceedings of Convention of Colored Freemen of Ohio held in Cincinnati, Jan. 14-17, 1852.

[68]State Convention of Colored Men held in Columbus, 15-18, Jan., 1851.

[69]Liberator, Nov. 23, 1832.

[70]Amer. Col. Soc. 29th Rept., 10.

tionist was hostile to the cause of emancipation and was striving to uphold the slaveholder's interest. Instead of the advocate of deportation standing for gradual manumission they declared that his ultimate design was to make slavery more secure. This would result from the emigration of the free blacks which would remove every inducement for the slaves to desire freedom. Furthermore, the extreme anti-slavery leaders argued that colonization was founded on the proposition that the two races must be separated when both enjoyed liberty, and contended that this assumption rested wholly on prejudice.[71] They said that this prejudice was manifested in the hostile Black Laws which colonizationists made no effort to repeal, but wished to remain in operation so as to make the free negro uncomfortable; hoping that his dissatisfaction would drive him to emigrate to Liberia.

But the third argument of the abolitionists was the strongest—at least so they asserted. This pointed to an inconsistency in the program of the colonizationists, namely, that a vicious and degraded negro might be a fit and successful missionary among his African brethren. In Ohio he could neither vote nor enjoy educational privileges. He was ignorant and criminal, contributing to the jails and penitentiaries more than ten times as many inmates as the whites, but in Africa he was to convert the native, stop the slave trade, establish schools and erect a responsible government. Such broad assertions as these naturally brought the advocates of colonization and those of abolition into conflict and the result of the struggle on the whole was to weaken the cause of both before the general public as well as in the eye of the black man. However, notwithstanding the bold assertions of the abolitionists in opposition to colonization a large percentage of the population of the State preferred colonization to abolition.

But the drastic measures that were employed by the abolitionists against the colonizationists weakened the cause of the latter by ranging the two forces on opposite sides. Strife of colonizationist versus abolitionist was especially pronounced during the thirties and forties. This period illustrates the methods employed on both sides. The American Anti-slavery Society had been organized in Philadelphia in December 1833; in April 1835 the Ohio branch was formed in Putnam County by more than one hundred delegates. In less than one year there were

[71]Rept. 3d Anniversary of Ohio Anti-Slavery Soc., Note 36-7.

more than one hundred and twenty minor societies, and the combined membership included from 10,000 to 12,000 persons.[72] Their object was to prevent the spread of slavery into Ohio and to induce great numbers who owned slaves in the states south of us at once to set them free. The people of Ohio were attracted by this new panacea for their ills and by 1837 there were 213 auxiliary societies with a membership of 17,253 in Ohio alone.[73]

It is not surprising therefore that the convinced colonizationist was alarmed by the growth of this new society and determined to do his utmost to strangle it. The activities of such men as Lundy and Birney, both at one time colonizationists, had wrought miracles in changing the popular mind, and this had to be checked. Some of the blacks had from the start opposed this plan as they had done the former, even going so far as to pass resolutions against abolition in which they declared that it was their belief that the publication of such papers as the "Philanthropist" and of other abolition papers and tracts had an "injurious and prejudicial effect upon the interest and well-being of the colored population"; and that they considered the future publication of such papers as an attempt "to excite against them the angry feelings and the personal violence of the anti-abolitionist".[74] It was conceivable that one individual might favor both colonization and abolition, but against abolition as opposed to colonization the whites as well as the blacks entered their protest.[75] Lectures were given by prominent leaders of the state to demonstrate the futility of interfering with the institution of slavery.[76] So-called "abhorrence meetings" were called to exhibit the abhorrence of the citizens of the state for the doctrine of abolition; and everything was done to arouse the people against the disciples in this new field. An account of one of these "abhorrence meetings" will give some idea of the tone taken and of the kind of men who fought in the ranks of colonization. A meeting was called at the instigation of Robert T. Lytle and was held March 9,

[72]Proceedings of Liberty of Press-Cin., 1836.

[73]Caleb Atwater, Hist. of Ohio, 323-4.

[74]Afric. Repos. Vol. XII, No. 140.

[75]Dr. Lyman Beecher (then of Lane Seminary, Cincinnati) wrote Arthur Tappan: "I am not apprised of the ground of controversy between the colonizationists and the abolitionists. I am myself both, without perceiving in myself an inconsistency." Sidney Strong in Papers of the Ohio Church History Society, IV, 9-10.

[76]Cincinnati Gazette, Jan. 12, 1839.

1839 in the Court House at Cincinnati. David Griffin presided and General Lytle made the principal address of the evening. He offered resolutions to the effect that the colonization plan was the "only sure and safe and feasible project to avoid the ills of slavery, and that the abolitionists were pursuing a course calculated to prevent all amelioration of the colored race".[77] At another meeting held in the Market House of Cincinnati in July 1836 a committee was appointed to await on Birney to "remonstrate with him and his associates upon the dangerous tendency of the course they were pursuing, to communicate to them the actual tone of the public feeling in the state, and to request them by every motive of patriotism and philanthropy to desist from the publication of their paper; and to warn them that if they persisted they (the colonizationists) would not be held responsible for the consequences". This committee was composed of such noteworthy men as Judge Jacob Burnet, Josiah Lawrence, Robert Buchanan, Nicholas Longworth, Thomas W. Bakewell and William Greene.[78] At the same time the meeting went on record as approving the course of the Colonization Society and as declaring it the only method of getting clear of the evils of slavery.[79] Moreover, the fact that the audiences attending the Colonization lectures were much larger than at those given on abolition indicates that the cause of immediate emancipation had not so many supporters in this region as the people of the South supposed. The fact is that in Cincinnati the disciples of Garrison were comparatively few. But they were very noisy,[80] and this often led to the use of more vigorous methods than the mere passing of resolutions. Such occurrences contributed to degrade the colonization cause before the citizens of the state. When abolitionist preachers frequently came home from lecturing with their horse's mane and tail shaved—"a colonizationist reply to an abolition lecture"[81]—both movements tended to assume a half ludicrous, half lawless aspect and people began to lose confidence in them. If these two groups could not agree how to alleviate the condition of the black man, how could either black or white man be expected to take them seriously or to do any-

[77]C. T. Greve, Hist. of Cincinnati, I, 749-750.
[78]Narrative of the late Proceeding of the Press.
[79]Ibid., passim.
[80]Afric. Repos. Vol. IX, No. 102.
[81]Howe's Hist. Coll. of Ohio, I, 338.

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thing to help along the cause! So long as the aim of the Colonization Society had been to deport the negro people were willing to listen to it, but when the friends of colonization and abolition began to quarrel and began to draw the subject into politics[82] the philanthropic and humanitarian aspects of the whole affair seemed to be lost; and with them the cause of colonization.

There was, however, one more cause that was to work the downfall of this movement. This was the Civil War. As a result of this slavery was abolished, the negro was made a citizen and given a ballot in America. Rights which the colonizationists hoped to confer on the negro in Africa could now be enjoyed in America. Why then should he go to Africa? The repeal of the Black Laws in Ohio (the gradual process covering the period from 1849-87) made his home State his Utopia. Here he would stay, close to his friends and brethren until he should be called to his last rest.

Thus ended a movement which had been launched under the most promising auspices. It had enlisted in its support men of the highest character and ability and had commanded a large and respected following. Its purpose had been praiseworthy but impracticable; the opposition was too powerful to be overcome. If the promoters of colonization could have kept the question out of politics as they had wished to do their importance as a factor in the slavery question would have been larger; but relegated to a subordinate place in the controversy their effect was negligible.

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[82]Amer. Col. Soc. Rept. 28, p. 23.

A TRIAL LIST OF SOCIETIES DURING THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE MOVEMENT.

(Compiled from various sources: African Repository, Exposition, etc., Reports from Amer. Coloniz. Soc'y.)

1. Adams County
2. Ashtabula County
3. Athens (Athens County)
4. Bainbridge
5. Batavia
6. Belbrook
7. Bellefontaine
   Belmont
8. Bethel
9. Brown County.
10. Brownstown
11. Bushwood
12. Cambridge
13. Canfield
14. Canfield Congregational
15. Canton (Stark County)
16. Chillicothe
17. ——— (Champaign County)
18. Cincinnati
19. Cincinnati Juvenile
20. Circleville
21. Clarke County
22. Clermont County
23. Cleveland
24. Columbiana (Clinton County)
25. Cumberland
26. Dayton
27. Dayton Female Juvenile
28. Fallcreek
29. Granville
30. Green County { 1 Male 2 Female
31. Greenfield
32. Hamilton
33. Hamilton & Rossville
34. Harrison County.
35. Hartford
36. Highland County
37. Hillsborough
38. Hudson.
39. Israel Township
40. Kenyon College
41. Lancaster
42. Lane Seminary
43. Lebanon
44. Licking County
45. McConnellsville
46. McCormick's Settlement
47. Madison.
48. Miami
49. Miami County
50. Miami University
51. ——— (Montgomery County)
52. Mt. Healthy
53. Mount Vernon
54. Muskingum County
55. Muskingum Young Men
56. Newark
57. New Burlington
58. New Carlisle
59. New Lancaster
60. New Richmond
61. Ohio State
62. Old Town
63. Oxford
64. Perry County
65. Piqua
66. Portage County
67. Preble County
68. Reading
69. Ripley
70. Ross County Female
71. Rutland Female
72. Rutland Male
73. Saloni
74. St. Clairsville
75. Senecaville (Guernsey County)
76. Sharon
77. Somerset
78. Springfield (Clarke County)
79. Springfield Female
80. Starke County
81. Steubenville
82. Talmadge
83. Troy (Miami County)
84. Trumbull County
85. Urbana
86. Wadsworth
87. Warren County
88. Warren Female
89. Washington County
90. Waynesville
91. Wilmington
92. Wooster
93. Xenia
94. Xenia Female
95. Xenia Juvenile
96. Zanesville.

A BRIEF

EXPOSITION

OF THE VIEWS OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE COLONIZATION

OF FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR,

IN AFRICA;

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

OHIO STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY

ADDRESSED
TO THE CITIZENS
OF OHIO

COLUMBUS:
PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE OHIO MONITOR,
BY DAVID SMITH
1827

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

At a time when a general effort is making throughout the nation, in behalf of the American Colonization Society, and when a universal appeal is made to the benevolence of community for its support, we owe it to the public, on whose charity our institution, for the present, entirely depends for aid; and especially in the western country, where the operations and objects of the Society are very imperfectly understood, to give a brief sketch of its history, character and claims.

"The *design* of this Society is general—the benefit of the *whole* African race. Its plan of *operation* is specific—*the establishment on the coast of Africa, of a Colony of free people of colour, from America.*"

That the condition of this unhappy race is such as to claim our *sympathies,* and demand our *efforts* for their relief, is very evident. And this is true of them, whether considered as *actual slaves,* or as *nominally free,* in this country; or as the deluded and *ignorant promoters* of the *Slave Trade,* or as its *miserable* and *hopeless victims,* in Africa.

The scheme of the American Colonization Society was devised and adopted by liberal and intelligent men of the *South,* and the *North,* as the plan, and the only one, which could unite these two great divisions of our country, in any efforts for the removal, or even the mitigation, of the greatest evil, and heaviest curse, which afflicts our land.

"There is," says the Christian Spectator, "at present (1824) within the limits of the United States, a coloured population of one million seven hundred and sixty-nine thousand. The character and circumstances of this class of the community fall, to some extent, under the personal observation of every man. Who is there who does not know something of the condition of the blacks in the northern and middle states. They may be seen in our cities, and larger towns, wandering like foreigners and outcasts, in the land that gave them birth. They may be seen in our penitentiaries and jails, and poor-houses. They may be

found inhabiting the abodes of poverty, and the haunts of vice. But if we look farther in the society of the honest and respectable—if we visit the schools in which it is our boast that the meanest citizen can enjoy the benefits of instruction—we might also add, if we visit the sanctuaries which are open for all to worship, and to hear the word of God, we shall not find them there. The *Soodra* is not further separated from the *Bramin,* in regard to all his privileges, civil, intellectual and moral, than the negro is from the white man, by the prejudices which result from the difference made between them by the God of nature. A barrier more difficult to be surmounted than the institution of the *Caste,* cuts off, and while the present state of society continues, must always cut off the negro from all that is valuable in citizenship. In his infancy, he finds himself, he knows not why, the scorn of his playmates, from the first moment that their fingers can be pointed at him in derision. In youth, he has no incentive to prepare for an active and honorable manhood. No visions of usefulness or respectability, animate his prospects. In mature years he has little motive to industry or to any honourable exertion. He is always degraded in the estimation of the community, and the deep sense of that degradation enters into his soul, and makes him degraded indeed. We know that there are individuals who, in spite of all these obstacles to moral and social improvement, have acquired a character of respectability and piety. But instances like these, occasioned by the peculiar circumstances or powers of the individuals, cannot be brought to disprove the general assertion, which we make without fear of contradiction, that the blacks are degraded without any proper means of improvement, or any sufficient incentive to exertion; that they present the strange anomaly of a large part of the nation that loves to call itself the freest and happiest, and most enlightened nation on the globe, separated by obstacles which they did not create, and which they cannot surmount, from all institutions and privileges, to which the other portions of the community owe their superiority."

In Greece and Rome, (says Col. Smith of Virginia,) emancipated slaves become useful citizens, because nature had branded them with no characteristic difference of complexion. But can the Ethiopian change his skin?

A manumitted slave remains a negro still, and must ever

continue in a state of political bondage; and it is obvious that he who is deprived of the inherent rights of a citizen can never become a loyal subject.

Perhaps no argument can better prove the degraded character of the free black population of our country, or more fully show the necessity of forming them into a separate community in a country of their own, than facts which are stated in the first report of the Prison Discipline Society.

"The first cause," says the report, "existing in society, of the frequency and increase of crime, is the degraded character of the coloured population. The facts which are gathered from the Penitentiaries, to show how great a proportion of the convicts are coloured, even in those states where the coloured is small, show most strikingly the connexion between ignorance and vice."

In Massachusetts less than a *seventieth* part of the population are *coloured.* But of the *convicts,* in the State Prison, nearly *one-sixth* part are persons of colour!

In Connecticut, the *free blacks* form but a *thirty-fourth* part of the population. But they form a full *third-part* of the miserable tenents of the State Prison!

In New York only a *thirty-fifth* part of the population is coloured, and about *one-fourth* of all the convicts are blacks!

In Vermont, the coloured population is very small, and consequently their disadvantages are fewer than where they are found in a greater proportion; yet, even there, *one-nineteenth* part of their whole number have been furnished for the Penitentiary!

This proportion will appear the more alarming, if we apply it to our own population. Suppose a *nineteenth* part of all the inhabitants of Ohio were *convicts,* we should have in our Penitentiary nearly *fifty-thousand* souls!

In New Jersey one *thirteenth* part of the population is coloured, and the people of colour constitute *one-third* part of the convicts.

In Pennsylvania one *thirty-fourth* part of the population is coloured, and more than *one-third* of the convicts are of that class.

And in our own state of Ohio, where the blacks have been supposed to be in a quite happy condition, even here, where only about the **twelfth* part of our population is coloured, about a

*"Should be *one hundred and twenty-fourth."*

tenth part of the convicts in the State Prison are persons of colour.

In New York, with a coloured population of 39,000, their annual expenses for coloured convicts have been about *four thousand dollars.*

In Massachusetts, with a black population of 7000, their annual expenses for convicts amount to about $1,800.

In Connecticut, their annual Penitentiary expenses are about $2,500 for coloured convicts, while the whole number of this class of persons in the state is less than 8,000.

The whole amount of *taxes* paid annually, by those three states on the *vices* of the *blacks,* would, at the present rates, transport to the land of their fathers, to country and home of their own, *four hundred and twenty* of those wretched beings, where they might enjoy the blessings of freemen.

But there is another still more important characteristic of the condition of our coloured population, in comparison with which every other circumstance dwindles into insignificance, and from which all that we have already said is only a necessary consequence. We mean Slavery.

That Slavery is an evil no one can deny. All must desire to cure the disease. If the evil be of fearful magnitude now, what will it be fifty years hence? And how much would the danger be aggravated by letting loose a horde of emancipated outlaws in the heart of our country? The mischief then, can only be averted by providing a Colonial settlement; for, in that case, as soon as slaves shall be emancipated, they will become proper subjects of colonization. By thus gradually removing this class of our population, we should not only be liberated from the apprehension of a servile war, at which humanity shudders, but would moreover greatly improve the moral worth of the community.

In this state (Ohio) we are supposed by many not to be at all interested in the prosperity of the Colonization cause; because Slavery is here prohibited by our Constitution and Laws. But the enlightened and liberal will recollect that we were as deeply concerned in the introduction of Slavery into this country, as those who are now the unfortunate holders of slaves—in short, that it was during our colonial existence, without our consent, and in disregard of our oft repeated remonstrances, that the mother country forced upon us this dreadful curse. But though

we were all originally innocent of this crime, we all, in whatever part of the Union, become guilty when we refuse to aid, according to our ability, in its removal. And there are many *here,* in Ohio, who notwithstanding their terrible denunciations against slave-holders, are living on the *price of blood.* And it is equally true that thousands who are the holders of slaves, and who have inherited them from their fathers, feel them an impoverishing inheritance and a curse. But what can they do? If they look around them, they find the condition of *free* blacks no better among them than that of the slaves. They find a much greater proportion of them in state prisons, in jails, and on pauper-lists than they do of slaves. Shall they turn them loose on community, regardless of consequences? Let this become universal, and let more than *two millions* of persons be turned out on society without any of the *motives* and *privileges* of freemen, or any of the *restraints* of slavery, and we think that all will admit that our condition and theirs would be made much more wretched by the change. Notwithstanding these considerations, such is the extent of liberal principle, and such the feelings of humanity for the unhappy slave, that hundreds of them are manumitted in slave-holding states every year. This can only be done by sending the liberated slave out of the state, and thus it is done at the expense of *our* safety and happiness in this and other free states. These miserable beings, with all the ignorance and degraded habits of thinking and acting which pertain to slavery, are *flooded* upon us in Ohio and Indiana, in yearly accumulating multitudes, to live among us without any of either the qualifications or privileges of citizens or freemen. The present state of things continuing but a few years, and what by emigration and what by natural increase, we shall have a black population equal to the number of whites. And then, though hundreds of us have fled to Ohio as the asylum of freedom; who will desire her pleasant plains and valleys as a residence? Who would not then prefer a residence in a slave-holding state?

And in the fearful event of a *servile war,* it would not be in the slave-holding states, and among slaves that those schemes of blood and ruin would be laid and ripened into maturity, but here, where they enjoy enough of freedom to feel their chains and to encourage them in an effort to break them off, and are not under the watchful restraints of a master.

In all these views we should regard the black population among us as a great national evil, moral, political, and social; which extends to all parts of our Union, and which tends to the destruction of our happiness and theirs, and which all should labor to remove.

But what can be done to remove the evil, or even to mitigate its ravages? It is now very generally agreed that the only plan which affords any hope of relief on this gloomy subject, either to us or to the degraded blacks, is that of Colonization.

But to the establishment of a Colony in our own country there are insuperable objections; and in the way of colonization in any of the West India Islands, it is believed that there are difficulties which can never be fully overcome. Hence the scheme of colonizing the blacks in Africa, the land of their fathers, is looked upon as the last hope of humanity.

This attempt at colonizing the coloured population of our country, has been made by the American Colonization Society, on the *North-west coast of Africa; and has been attended with unexampled success. Though the society has been obliged to depend upon the benevolence of individuals alone for support—and numerous difficulties have stood in their way, yet they have established a colony of coloured persons from our country in the land of their fathers. The territory acquired by the society is sufficiently large to subsist many thousand souls. The soil is exceedingly fertile; producing in great abundance all the product of tropical countries; such as rice, coffee, sugar-cane, oranges, limes, corn, pine apples, indigo, camwood, barwood, pepper, ginger, tamarinds, cinnamon, cardamum, nutmegs, ivory, gold, &c. &c. The colonists have made extensive and valuable improvements—have built towns, improved farms, and have made themselves entirely comfortable. Their commerce is already valuable, and rapidly improving. They have erected churches, and have established the worship of the Christian's God in a pagan land. Schools are established and are prosperous. And so very different is their condition from what it was here, that the Colonial Agent says "should the current of emigration cease to throw upon us the little *ignorants* from America, there would not be known in the Colony the phenomenon of a child of five or six years old, unable to read." Many of the children of the

*"Should be *South-west.*"

principal natives—kings and head men are now receiving the advantages of education in our schools, at Liberia. And the colony promises fair to extend science, civilization and religion into the dark interior of Africa.

The colonists have extended their jurisdiction over 120 miles of coast, and from it have banished the slave trade.

The climate, too, is found to be friendly to the health of our blacks. And though considerable sickness has been experienced by some of the colonists, on their arrival in Africa, yet the want of suitable habitations and other conveniences rather than the climate are believed to be the causes of the greater part of the sickness that has occurred. But were this not the case, we believe that the mortality among the settlers has been less than in most attempts that have been made in our country to form new settlements.

It is not, however, expected that this Society will be able, by its own efforts, to relieve the wretchedness of our black population, or remove the cause which threatens our own ruin; yet very much may be done by the united benevolence of the friends of humanity in our country. Already Societies have been formed from *Georgia* to *Maine;* and they almost daily spring into active existence in all parts of our country.—But it is to the energies and resources of the nation that we look for the glorious consummation of that work of benevolence, in which we only aspire to the honor of acting as *pioneers.* Already have the legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and other states, solicited for our cause the patronage and support of the General Government; and Maryland has given from her State Treasury *one thousand dollars,* per annum, to aid our enterprise. And it is confidently expected that the Congress of the U[nited] States will, at no distant period, adopt our cause as the cause of the nation.

But while we wait for the co-operation of the General or State Governments we, should not wait in idleness; for this is a canker that is growing while we sleep, and when we wake, and demands our immediate and vigorous exertions. Societies should be formed to co-operate with the parent Society of the United States, in all proper measures to promote our common object. By this means we will be better enabled to diffuse information on this subject; and just in proportion as the public mind shall

become informed, in the same proportion will aid and favour be given to our cause.—And let but the general voice of community call for the measure, and in a government like ours, legislative aid will not, cannot be withheld. Besides this, the contributions of societies may enable hundreds of our unfortunate blacks to emigrate to a country and home of their own. And by thus becoming organized, we will be prepared more extensively and efficiently to memorialize the National and State Legislatures.

In Ohio, it is true, this subject is comparatively new and unknown; but already something has been done, which affords an earnest of future success. A State Colonization Society has been formed for Ohio, the object of which is to aid the benevolent designs of the parent institution of the U[nited] States. The funds of the State Society, agreeably to its Constitution, are to be employed in aiding the coloured people of Ohio to emigrate to our Colony, and what is not thus applied is to be given to the Treasury of the parent Society. The names of the officers will be found at the close of this sketch. All these officers render their services without any compensation whatever, as do all the officers of all our Societies, except those agents who devote their whole time to the cause; and they are allowed a compensation only from the proceeds of their own labor.

Besides the State Society there are in Ohio about *thirty* Colonization Societies, nearly all of which are auxiliary to the Society of the State. These unite their funds in the Treasury of the State Society, and their appropriation is made by the Board of Managers of the Society.

Each auxiliary Society will be represented by a delegate at the annual meeting of the State Society. And all the proceedings of the Society will be made public, so that full information will be within the reach of every one, as to the application of the funds.

APPENDIX

OFFICERS OF THE OHIO STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY

PRESIDENT

Hon. Jeremiah Morrow.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Abr'm Shepard, Esq., Speaker of the Senate,
Rev. R. H. Bishop, D. D., Pres't Miami University,
Rev. James Hoge, of Franklin county,
Rev. D. Purviance, of Preble county,
Hon. Wm. M'Lean, of Miami county,
Jos. S. Benham, Esq., of Hamilton county,
Rev. R. G. Wilson, D. D., Pres't Ohio University,
David Higgins, Esq., of Butler county,
Wm. R. Putnam, Esq., of Washington county,
Rev. W. M. Millin, of Harrison county.

RECORDING SECRETARY

David W. Deshler, Esq.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Nathaniel M'Lean, Esq.

TREASURER

Lemuel Reynolds, Esq.

MANAGERS

Rev. James M'Aboy, Hon. David Smith, Otis Crosby, esq., Rev. Charles Henkle, John Cunning, esq., Gen. John Warner, Hon. Orris Parish, Doct. Samuel Persons, Doct. L. Goodale, Gen. Jos. Foos, Thomas Johnson, esq., and Rev. Jacob Young.

Hon. John Davenport, Delegate,
To represent this Society at the meeting of the parent Society at Washington City.

[Then follows an incomplete list of auxiliary Societies; Instructions to the Board of Managers; By-Laws; and the Constitution of the Ohio State Colonization Society.]

OHIO IN AFRICA.

MEMORIAL TO THE HONORABLE, THE SENATE, AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF OHIO.

OHIO IN AFRICA.

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio.

The undersigned, members of the Ohio Committee of Correspondence of the American Colonization Society, respectfully ask leave to represent:

That during the last session of the Legislature of Ohio, memorials were presented, asking for pecuniary aid, from the State, to pay the expense of the emigration of her colored people, who might determine to remove, to Liberia. These memorials were signed by a respectable number of the citizens of the State, and nearly unanimously by the clergymen who had been in attendance, during the preceding year, upon the Conferences, Synods, and Conventions of several of the largest religious denominations in the State. Upon this expression of the public will being presented to the Legislature, a Bill was passed by the lower House, making an appropriation for the object proposed; but it was postponed by the Senate, among its unfinished business, and we have, in consequence, been left without adequate funds to execute our plans. We have, therefore, been driven to the necessity of renewing our application for aid; and in doing this we respectfully ask your attention to the consideration of the history of events which have transpired, in connection with our operations, during the two last years.

I. In the month of May, 1850, President Roberts, of Liberia, announced the purchase of a large tract of land, on the coast of Africa, which, by the terms of the treaties made with the kings and chiefs, was immediately annexed to that Republic. The funds to make this purchase were supplied by the following gentlemen, viz:

Charles M'Micken, Esq., of Cincinnati	$5.000
Solomon Sturges, Esq., of Putnam, Ohio	1.000
Samuel Gurney, Esq., of London	5.000

A legacy was also left for this object, the amount of which we have not yet learned.

The scheme of purchasing additional territory in Africa, beyond the limits of Liberia, was first projected in this State, early in 1848, with the view of forming a colony of colored people from Ohio, at some point most advantageous to the settlers, and where they might most effectually aid in checking and suppressing the slave trade. The necessary funds to pay for such a tract, were offered by Mr. McMicken, and the Agent for Ohio was authorized by him to adopt the necessary measures for carrying out the design. The territory northwest of Liberia, including the Gallinas, being the nearest point, on the coast, to Brazil, was known to be the most active seat of the traffic in slaves. Attention was, therefore, directed to it, by Rev. Wm. McLain, Secretary of the Colonization Society, as most suitable for the purpose had in view. The whole space northwest from the line of Liberia to Sierra Leone, includes about 200 miles of coast. When President Roberts visited England, in the autumn of 1848, Mr. Gurney pledged $5,000, on condition that this entire space should be bought, so as to leave no loop-hole, on all that coast, for the entrance of slave-trading vessels. On the return of the President to Liberia, he found the chiefs indisposed to sell, and demanding exorbitant prices for their lands. This state of feeling was engendered by their being under the influence of the slave traders, and from their unwillingness to give up the traffic in slaves. But the object to be accomplished was so important that it was resolved, at whatever cost, to effect the purchase.

The President also found, on his return from Europe, that at New Cesters, a district East of Monrovia, which had been purchased on the eve of his leaving home, the slave traders had determined to remain, and had armed the natives to aid them in resisting the authorities of Liberia. The honor of the government, and the cause of humanity, both demanded prompt action, and he immediately proceeded to raise sufficient troops to dislodge them. By an arrangement made with the governments of England and France, their naval vessels on that coast were placed at his disposal, and he had all necessary facilities afforded for the transportation of the troops. They set sail on March 6th, 1849, and succeeded, after a short and severe conflict, in dispers-

ing the native army, releasing the captive slaves, and breaking up the traffic in that district.

About the middle of February, 1849, the British squadron, in obedience to orders, proceeded to the district northwest of Liberia, to break up the establishments at Gallinas, and other points, up as far as the line of Sierra Leone. The commanders succeeded in destroying the barracoons, and in releasing many hundred slaves collected for exportation; and then blockaded all the trading points, on that part of the coast, to prevent the return of the slave-trading vessels. The supplies of necessaries being thus cut off from the population, the chiefs were forced to come to terms and sell their lands to Liberia. But this blockade had to be continued about fifteen months before the purchase could be effected, and the expense to England could not have been much short of $200,000.

The funds pledged by Messrs. McMicken and Gurney, being on condition that the purchase should first be made, were paid as soon as that fact was announced. The donation of Mr. Sturgess was made at an earlier day, and was unconditional.

By this purchase, not only has the slave trade been broken up in the region between Sierra Leone and Liberia, but the laws of that Republic, being extended over it, have emancipated, probably, near 70,000 slaves, formerly held as the property of the headmen.

Too much praise can not be awarded to Great Britain, for the profuse liberality manifested in the accomplishment of this great work. The destruction of the slave trade in this "its darkest den," must exert an influence over the tribes far into the interior of Africa. Those heretofore constantly warring upon each other, to secure slaves to sell at the coast, deprived of their market, will lose this principal stimulus to the perpetuation of their savage barbarities, and become more accessible to the influence of the messengers of peace. Indeed, these effects seem to have been very fully produced, during the period of the British blockade, in the region lying in the rear of the purchased territory. This is evident from the fact, that when the Rev. Mr. Raymond reached Kaw-Mendi, in charge of the "Amistad Africans," about ten years ago, he found wars prevailing so extensively, everywhere among the surrounding tribes, that he could not reach the Mendi country, to which these people had belonged, and was

forced to settle at Kaw-Mendi. We learn, from the published report of Rev. George Thompson, for two years past at the head of that station, that, for more than a year after his arrival, these wars continued with unabated cruelty; and that, while they prevailed, whole towns had been depopulated and multitudes driven to the coast and sold to the slave traders. Mr. Thompson, like his predecessors, had been greatly hindered, by these wars, in his effort to instruct and benefit the people. But the establishment of the blockade, in February, 1849, prevented the export of any more slaves, and of course destroyed the market. This would soon tell upon the interior settlements. Accordingly, on the 13th of March, 1850, about thirteen months from the commencement of the blockade, we find that Mr. Thompson, after having settled the wars among the tribes around him, set out upon a mission of peace, a distance into the interior of 300 miles by water; and that he was everywhere eminently successful in putting an end to the sanguinary conflicts which had so long, and so frequently, brought desolation and death upon many generations of men.

The letter of Mr. Thompson, stating his success in making peace, is dated on the 17th May, 1850, far up the Big Boom river. On the same day, President Roberts wrote from Monrovia, announcing that he had succeeded in the purchase of Gallinas and the other tracts up as far as Shebar, the British line; and that by these purchases the natives were forever bound not to engage in the slave trade, and the Liberians to send commissioners to settle the wars among the tribes of that region. In this object, recent letters state, that the commissioners have been successful, except with one body of refugees from the barracoons, who refused to be reconciled to their old captors. The President, however, is not discouraged at this event, but expects to find them willing to make peace, when they learn that the laws of Liberia place them on an equality with all other classes around them.

The results of the blockade, and of the purchase of this territory, thus far, it will be seen, have been of the most gratifying character.

But there is still danger, unless a few hundred families are settled at the several trading points, where vessels can approach the coast, that the Liberians will have trouble in preventing the occurrence of dissensions among the native tribes, and the occa-

sional shipment of slaves. This fear is greatly strengthened by recent intelligence from Liberia: President Roberts writes, that since the blockading squadron has been withdrawn, a slave trader has made an unsuccessful attempt to renew the traffic with the chiefs at Gallinas. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that a speedy colonization of this territory be made. About one-half of the country purchased, it is expected, will be set apart for the emigrants from Ohio, on the plan of Mr. McMicken, and constitute one of the counties of the republic of Liberia, to be called *Ohio*. The settlement of a colony at Gallinas, it will be seen, is indispensible to prevent a return of the slave traders. As our emigrants are expected to settle at Gallinas, the responsibility of preventing a renewal of the slave trade, in that region, devolves upon Ohio; and as sufficient funds to accomplish this work cannot be obtained from individual contributions, our appeal must be to you, to put us in possession of the means of hastening the emigration as much as possible.

II. There are some colored persons in Ohio, who have determined to leave for Liberia, in the vessel to sail from New Orleans, on the 20th inst. Others are preparing to follow, in the course of the year, if the funds can be obtained to meet their expenses; and many more are investigating the subject, and will soon decide upon the course they will pursue. Their decision will be greatly influenced by the arrangements made to secure the comfortable condition of the emigrants after reaching Africa. It is the intention of all who are preparing to emigrate, to settle upon the territory secured by Mr. McMicken, and to build up an *Ohio* for themselves. Those who are leaving at present, are well educated and enterprising young men. It is necessary, in commencing our colony, that sufficient funds should be placed in the hands of the American Colonization Society to enable us, through President Roberts and our *pioneers,* to make all necessary arrangements for the comfortable settlement of our future emigrants. And, in reference to this point, we would remark, that the friends of colonization, profiting by past experience, are contemplating the erection of houses and planting of crops, in Liberia, for the use of new emigrants, in advance of their arrival. This, certainly, would be an important step in the work of forming new settlements on the coast of Africa, and would remove one of the strongest objections to emigration, on the part of those com-

fortably situated here. Such liberal provision for emigrants, as this plan contemplates, would only be necessary during the first few years of the existence of our new stations, but in their origin seems to be indispensable. The additional cost to which we would be subjected, would be a small matter, indeed, compared with the advantages that would be secured. Judge Benson, of Liberia, says, that a comfortable, weather-boarded house, for one family, and the planting of an acre of ground in vegetables, will cost $120. He considers a house of this kind much more healthy than the common $40 open log buildings, heretofore erected by emigrants. The cost of the passage out, for each emigrant, and his after support for six months, with medical attention if sick, is $50. These two items of expense being stated, it is easy to estimate the funds needed for an emigrating party.

III. It cannot any longer be denied, that emigration to Liberia, is not only a certain means of securing to the colored man all the social and political rights which he so ardently longs to possess, but that it will also gain for the industrious emigrant, all that happiness which wealth can bestow. The soil of Liberia is so fertile, and the native exportable products now existing upon it, and that may be cultivated, are so abundant, that skill and enterprise are sure of a rich recompense. The progress of events in the commercial world are demonstrating, with great clearness, that this view of the coming prosperity of Liberia, is not the product of an over-excited imagination, under the influence of a benevolent enthusiasm. The increase in the production of coffee and cotton, throughout the world, is no longer equal to their increasing consumption, and the consequent advance in the price of these articles must make their cultivation in Liberia a source of great profit to its citizens. Its soil produces both in great perfection, and England, the greatest manufacturer of cotton in the world, has already turned her attention to that quarter, to make up the deficit in her supplies of that article. President Roberts, in a letter of July 10th, 1850, says, that an Agent of the British manufacturers was then visiting the settlements of Liberia, in charge of two vessels, laden with cotton seeds, cotton gins, and agricultural implements for the cultivation of cotton, and was desirous of making extensive arrangements with the citizens, for its production. Rev. George Thompson, of Kaw-Mendi, which lies to the northwest of Liberia, forty miles

from the coast, also speaks confidently of the practicability of producing sugar and cotton in that region; and since he has succeeded in establishing peace, as before stated, is urgently pleading for aid to introduce their cultivation among the natives. We learn that Mr. Thompson has recently arrived in this country, to plead, personally, for aid to enable him to carry out, more fully and rapidly, the plans he has laid to dispel the moral gloom overshadowing the field of his labors, and to give to that part of Africa a Christian civilization.

Mr. Thompson's opinions in relation to the *healthiness* of Africa, cannot but make a favorable impression upon our colored people. They all know him as a devoted abolitionist, and as having incurred heavy penalties by his early zeal in the anti-slavery cause. Since Liberia has become independent, the principal objection to emigration is on account of the supposed unhealthiness of the climate. But Mr. Thompson's statements, on that subject, flatly contradict the oft repeated declarations of the opponents of Colonization, and more than sustain the opinions of Dr. Lugenbeel, late Colonial Physician and U. S. Agent in Liberia, who has recently prepared a tract giving the results of his six years' practice in that Republic. Mr. Thompson expresses the belief that men may settle in Africa with as little loss of life as did the early settlers of New England; and says, he sees no natural cause of sickness there, any more than in any uncultivated country; and can see no reason why it would not be as healthy a country as any, when once cleared up.

With all these facts before us, we cannot but believe, that our colored people will not be long in discovering that Liberia is the true field for their intellectual, moral, social, and political elevation, and that we must soon stand prepared to meet a strong tide of emigration to the New Republic.

In conclusion, we would beg leave to remind you, that, as a free and humane people, desiring to promote human freedom and happiness, we are deeply interested in the promotion of industry in Liberia, and in the speedy development of its resources. This is made apparent, by reference to one, only, of the many articles grown in that country, which are, at present, largely consumed by us. We refer to Coffee. In 1848 we imported 151,400,000 lbs. of that article, of which 114,250,000 lbs. were the product of slave labor, *sustained directly by the slave trade,* in Cuba and

Brazil; and such is the present condition of our commerce, and of the cultivation of Coffee throughout the world, that we must continue indebted to these countries, to this extent, until the free labor of Liberia can supply our wants.

But this view of the Coffee question, is not the only one in which the people of Ohio are interested. The increased consumption of Coffee, has so far gained upon, and exceeded its production, that the old stocks on hand have been consumed, and a deficit has occurred in the supplies, to an extent which has advanced its price to nearly double what it has been for many years past. This deficit might have been prevented, had a liberal and enlightened policy been pursued toward Liberia. The case is an extremely plain one. At the close of 1849, the crop of that year was found to be 426,000,000 lbs, and the old stocks left over from 1848, amounted to 134,000,000 lbs. The consumption of 1850, taking that of preceding years as data, would require 630,000,000 lbs., thus leaving the supply short of the demand by 70,000,000 lbs. For 1851 there would be no old stocks lying over, and as the crop of 1850 might not exceed that of 1849, the supplies, it was perceived, would be short of the demand by 200,000,000 lbs. It was the anticipation of this deficit that has caused the price to advance. An extra production of 200,000,000 lbs., it is plain, would have kept up the supply, and prevented an advance of price. Had there been planted, six years ago, in Liberia, 133⅓ coffee farms, of 1,000 acres each, with the usual proportion of 300 trees to the acre, estimating the product at only five pounds to the tree, we should now annually be supplied with the necessary amount of 200,000,000 lbs. of coffee from that Republic. That European and American capital, could have put under cultivation *one hundred and thirty-three such coffee plantations in Liberia,* none can doubt. There are many single individuals, in both countries, who could have done it. The funds, necessary to execute the task, would have been a mere trifle, compared with the losses the world is sustaining by not, at an earlier day, giving sufficient encouragement to the industry of Liberia.

Allow us, for a moment, to direct your attention to the amount of loss the people of the United States, but particularly those of Ohio, are sustaining, in consequence of the short-sighted policy that has been pursued toward Liberia, and the extent to which an equal sum, if now properly applied, would tend to

relieve us from the embarrassing position we occupy,—not only in relation to our supplies of coffee, but to that of one of the most exciting questions in the politics of the country.

The annual consumption of Coffee by the United States, according to the best authorities, is now 170,000,000 pounds. It formerly cost us, say, 6 cts. per pound, and is now worth 12 cts. This is near enough the actual facts for our present purpose. The population of Ohio is nearly one-tenth of the whole population of the United States. An advance of 6 cts. per pound on Coffee, is a tax upon the people of the United States, of $10,-200,000 annually, and upon Ohio, one-tenth of this sum, or $1,020,000.

Now, let us see what might be done with an amount of funds equal to this tax. The annual increase of colored people in the United States, North and South, at present, is 70,000, and the whole colored population of Ohio, not over 30,000. The cost, at $50 each, for the removal of the former number, would be $3,500,000, and of the latter $1,500,000. So, then, the tax paid by the people, in consequence of the advance in the price of Coffee, amounts to a sum, every *twelve months,* for the whole Union, sufficient to remove to Liberia, *nearly three times the number of the annual increase of all the colored people in the country;* and for Ohio, in each *sixteen months,* this tax reaches a sum more than sufficient to remove *the whole colored population in the State.* If, therefore, the people of Ohio, through the Legislature, will give to the Colonization Society, for a period of only two years, the amount of the additional tax they are paying for Coffee, the sum would be amply sufficient to pay for the erection of dwellings and planting of crops, and the cost of the passage out to our *Ohio in Africa,* of all the colored people in the State.

We refer to this tax upon Coffee, to illustrate the ease with which the expense of the emigration of our colored population could be paid, and the people be almost unconscious of the burden imposed; and with the view, also, of showing that the people of Ohio have a direct interest in promoting Colonization to Africa. There are a number of lots of ground planted in Coffee, in Liberia, from which small quantities have been exported. The sooner the amount grown is multiplied to the extent named above, the sooner will we be relieved from the present tax. It is true, however, that no one feels himself greatly burdened by this tax, and it is for this very reason that we would urge the adoption of

measures to be relieved from it; because the amount necessary to colonize all our colored people, will not be felt a whit more than the tax on Coffee, and as a *hundredth part* of that sum, yearly, would be sufficient in the outset, the burden imposed, we are persuaded, would be most cheerfully born[e] by the people: when, at the same time, they would have the satisfaction of knowing, that it conferred the blessings of civilization upon millions of their fellow-men.

In view, then, of the important bearings of Colonization upon ourselves, upon our colored people, and upon Africa, we ask for an appropriation of funds, to such an amount as, in your judgment, the merit of the work in which we are engaged demands. Nor would we desire to limit, to our own favorite point, the application of the means you may supply, but would plead for equal aid to promote emigration to any of the settlements on the coast of Africa, as all tending to the same grand results. And in thus approaching you, we do not feel that we are asking an expenditure of money for an unusual purpose. We need only call your attention to the fact, that no inconsiderable portion of the legislation of Ohio, for several years, costing the State large sums of money, has grown out of efforts to secure to the colored man equal social and political privileges. If this be a legitimate object upon which to spend the public money, then is our application legitimate; because all the privileges claimed for the colored man, by his most ardent friends, will be at once secured to him on his landing in Liberia.

In laying before you, gentlemen, the foregoing facts, and in committing our cause into your hands, we trust that the world will not be able to say, that Monarchies are more generous than Democracies—that the former are more potent for good, beyond their own limits, than the latter—that the one gives, freely, its hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling, to alleviate human suffering and advance the cause of humanity, while the other refuses even a penny.

C. P. McIlvaine,	Cincinnati,	E. G. Robinson,	Cincinnati,
John T. Brooke,	"	Thomas Parrott,	Dayton,
N. L. Ride,	"	J. W. Hall,	"
Samuel R. Wilson,	"	James Hoge,	Columbus
Samuel W. Fisher,	"	Reuben Wood,	"
James P. Kilbreth,	"	H. H. Leavitt,	Steubenville,
Alexander Guy,	"	H. G. Comingo,	"
Rufus King,	"		

Ohio Committee of Correspondence, of the American Colonization Society.

January 8, 1851.

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